

STATEMENT OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT CONCERNING
THE MANCHURIAN AFFAIRS, DEC. 27, 1931.

1. The maintenance of peace and order in Manchuria is a matter to which the Government of Japan have always attached the utmost importance. They have on various occasions taken every lawful step in order to secure it, and to prevent Manchuria from becoming the battle-ground of militarist factions. Only if peace and order prevail, can the country be safe either for the Chinese or for the foreigner: in the absence of peace and order it is futile to speak of the Open Door or of equal opportunity for the economic activities of all nations. But the events of September last have, in spite of her wishes, created a new responsibility and a wider sphere of action for Japan. Attacked by Chinese violence, her acts of necessary self-protection resulted, to her considerable embarrassment, in her having to assume the duty of maintaining public order and private rights throughout a wide area. The local authorities might have been expected to co-operate in upholding law and order. But, in fact, they almost unanimously fled or resigned. It was Japan's clear duty to render her steps of self-defense as little disturbing as possible to the peaceable inhabitants of the region. It would have been a breach of that duty to have left the population a prey to anarchy-deprived of all the apparatus



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of any preparations being made by the Chinese for an attack. But as a matter of fact the military authorities at Chinchow are maintaining large forces at various points, west of Takushan, on the Peiping-Mukden Railway and in the adjacent territory. Reconnaissances conducted by the Japanese army have not only definitely confirmed the assurance that these forces are engaged in making preparation for war, but have also revealed the fact that their outposts are stationed along a line connecting Tienchuantai, Tai-an, Peichipao, and other points on the right bank of the River Liao, well advanced from Chinchow. It will readily be admitted that to the Japanese contingents dispersed along the South Manchuria Railway and elsewhere, but the danger is even greater than it seems at first sight, if the further fact is taken into consideration that the Peiping-Mukden Railway places the cities of Mukden, Yinkao and Hopei within a short journey of three or four hours from Takushan and Koupantsu (which are bases of the Chinese forces).

The bandit forces, (which include a large number of officers and men discharged from the Chinese army), are daily gaining strength. For instance, the number of bandits on the western flank of the main line of the South Manchuria Railway was estimated early in November at 1,300, whereas investigations conducted in early December revealed the fact that they numbered over 30,000. Moreover, they are

banded together in large groups comprising several hundreds, or even thousands, each equipped with machine guns and trench mortars; so that they can no longer be distinguished from regular troops. This points unmistakably to the existence of a state of things in which the so-called bandits are directed and provided with arms by the Chinchor military authorities. According to the statistics compiled in the Japanese Consulate-General at Mukden, the cases of bandit-raid in the vicinity of the Railway "one numbered 278 during the first ten days of November, 341 during the second ten days, 438 during the final ten days of the month, and 472 during the first ten days of December, thus reaching the astounding total of 1,529 in forty days. It is the usual strategy of these bandit-troops, when attacked by our men, to fly westward, or to take refuge on the right bank of the River Liao; where our army, anxious to avoid any collision with the Chinese Regulars, has made it a point to refrain from further pursuit.

3. On the 24th November, the Foreign Minister of China made an intimation to the Ministers at Nanking of the principal Powers to the effect that the Chinese Government, in order to avoid any collision between Chinese and Japanese forces, were prepared to withdraw their troops to points within the Great Wall. Upon a proposal to that effect being officially made on the 26th, this Government signified their

readiness to accept it in principle, -- at the same time instructing the Japanese Minister at Shanghai, and the Legation at Peiping, to open conversation on the matter with the Chinese Foreign Minister and with Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang respectively.

The Japanese Minister in China had several conferences accordingly with the Chinese Foreign Minister between 30th November and 3rd December. In the midst of these conversations, the latter withdrew the overture, and declined further negotiation. Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, with whom our representative at Peiping carried on negotiations from the 4th December onwards, either directly or through the Marshal's subordinates, expressed on the 7th his willingness to call in his Chinchow forces as a spontaneous move of withdrawal; and he has since given repeated assurances as to the speedy execution of his promise. In point of fact, however, there is no sign of any such withdrawal. On the contrary, the defenses of Chinchow have since been strengthened.

4. Accordingly, at the present moment, now almost a month subsequent to the initiation of these negotiations for the withdrawal of the Chinchow troops, there appears no prospect of obtaining any tangible result, owing entirely to the want of good faith on the Chinese side. At the same time, the increased activity, above described, on the part of marauding bands, threatens to bring about a complete

destruction of all peace and security throughout the whole extent of South Manchuria. In these circumstances, the Japanese forces have now begun a general movement with a view to a campaign against the bandits on a more extensive scale than hitherto. It is obvious, from what has been said above, that the Japanese army, if it is to achieve anything like adequate success, will have to advance to the points west of the River Liao where the bandits have their base. Certainly, the Japanese forces, in deference to the Resolutions of the League Council adopted on 30th September and 10th December, are not in the field against the Regular Chinese forces; but in the present abnormal conditions prevailing in Manchuria, the necessities of the case compel them to continue their operations against lawless elements. This is a point on which the Representative of Japan at the recent session of the Council of the League held on the 10th December made a definite declaration. So long as the Chinchor military authorities, while simulating an unaggressive attitude, continue to instigate and manipulate the movements of bandit organizations against the Japanese army as well as Japanese and other peaceable inhabitants, and so long as the officers and men of the Chinchor army mingle in large numbers with these bandit groups and so render it impossible to distinguish the latter from Regular troops, so long must the responsibility for the consequences of any action which

may be entailed upon the Japanese Army in self-defense rest entirely with the Chinese.

5. During the course of the past month, in spite of the indignation aroused throughout the country by the behaviours of the Chinchow military authorities, and in accordance with the constant desire of the Japanese Government to abide scrupulously by the resolutions of the League Council, the operations of the Army against the bandits have been restrained within comparatively narrow limits, and the Government have done everything in their power to devise means for forestalling a collision between the forces of the two countries in the course of an eventual antibandit campaign. The Japanese Government are confident that their prolonged forbearance and their desire strictly to adhere to the stipulations of international engagements will not fail to command recognition by the public opinion of the world.

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CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, HAYASHI, Kaoru, who occupy the post of the Chief of the Archives of Foreign Office, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese and English consisting of J. 6, E. 7, page and entitled "Statement of the Japanese Government concerning the Manchurian Affairs, Dec. 27, 1931" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (Foreign Office).

Certified at Tokyo,
on this 26 day of July, 1947

/S/ HAYASHI, Kaoru (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place,
on this same date

Witness: URABE, Katsuma (seal)

Act Doc 1914

文書ノ出所並ニ成立ニ關スル謹願書（三編）

自分名義ハ外務省文書課長ノ職ニ居ル者ナル處、
茲ニ添附セラレタル日本語及ビ英語ニ依ツチ書カ
レ英本語六頁ヨリ成ル清潤夢良ニ歸スル帝國政府
第三次聲明（明治六年十二月二十七日）ト同スル
書類ハ日本政府（外務省）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ
正確ニシテ眞實ナル爲シナルコトヲ謹願ス

昭和二十二年七月二十六日

於東京

立

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印

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サヒタリ

同 日 於 月

立會人

清 部 勝 馬

印

憲政事務ニ關スル帝國政府第三次聲明
(昭和六年十二月二十七日)

一 本議ニ於ケル治安ノ維持ハ帝國政府ノ恒ニ在る
恩寵スル所ニシテ此肩ニ於テハ從來各處ノ社會ニ
同地方ノ秩序ヲ保持シ且之カ毎回争乱ノ起ト化ス
ルヲ防カムカ爲百方治安ノ手段ヲ講シ本ヨリ治安
ノ保持アリテ始メテ此地方ハ内外人安住ノ地ナル
フ得ヘク又秩序ナキ所門戸開き社會均モ總局空
名ニ終ルヘシ且ラスモ今次事變ハ帝國ニ續シ憲政
ニ於ル新ナル責任ヲ加ヘ而シテ其ノ活動ノ範囲ハ
更ニ廣汎ナルヲ致セリ即チ支那領ノ不當ナル或事
ニ論シ必至ノ自衛手段ヲ試リタル結果帝國ハ民大
ナル地位ニ亘リテ公共ノ安全ヲ保持シ住民ノ権利
ヲ保護スルノ義務ヲ負フノ已ムヲ爲サルニ至リ
當時支那地方官廳ハ既往秩序保持ノ爲何等努力ノ
報告ヲ求メス一概ニ過失又ハ懈怠セリ斯カル狀況
ノ下ニ無事ノ地方民ノ災害ヲ出来未ル限り僅少ナ
ラシムルハ國カニ帝國ノ人民ニシテ之ニ反シ我方
ニ於テ右等良民ヲ保護せんノ誠中ニ存スルカ如
キハ正ニ前記實情ノ鑑念タルベシ是レ我軍カ參大
ノ體性ヲ恐ヒ支那官廳ノ警備ヲ失ヘル地方ニ於テ
人命財産ノ安全ヲ保持センカ爲全力ヲ盡シ來リタ

Doc 1949
Aet

Def Doc 1969

ル所以ニシテ畢竟我軍ハ事態自然ノ進むニヨリ
テ真ノ欲スルト否トニ拘ラス右ノ如キ實計ヲ覗フ
ルニ至ルモノナリ

ニ右ノ如ク今次事變ノ發生ニ依リ民衆難機關ノ破
壊ヲ見タルニ止ラス其處地方ニ於ケル馬賊其ノ他
不逞分子ハ自然真ノ隕落ヲ皆スニ至リタルモ試算
ノ所在スル方面ニ於テヘ其ノ威力ニ依リ湖北渝寧
ノ恢復ニ向ヒツツアリタリ然ルニ十一月上旬前後
ヨリ鐵道附屬地襄陽地方亦ニ淮海本線西方ニ於ケ
ル此等不逞分子ノ隕落機ニ因縁トナリ來レル處右
馬賊ノ活動ハ錦州軍艦ノ巡視的襲撃ニ悉クモノ
ナルコト據尙ノ併述、清駁文勅其ノ他各種ノ情報
ニ依リ續々卷レサル所ナリ錦州方面ニ於ケル第三
國武官中支諭係ニ於テ何年攻撃ノ準備ヲナシ居ル
體左ナシトノ報告ヲナシ后ルモノアル虎錦州官艦
カ大連打虎山以西ノ北寧線上及其ノ附近ノ各地ニ
亘り巨大ナル兵力ヲ調シ居ルハ既カニシテ試算ノ
尾聲ナル信號ニ依レハ此等母艦カ錦州軍ノ犯ノ壁
砲地ニ於テ種々兵備ヲ整ヘ居ル體際間聲ナルモノ
アルノミナラズ其ノ前衛部隊ヲ錦州ヨリ進ニ東方
ニアル田庄臺、靈安、白旗營等遼河右岸ノ各地ヲ
遷ヌル餘ニ匪賊シ居ルコト既定ナリ聞シテ右事に
カ淮海沿線其ノ犯地ニ分認座地セル我駐清都江

Ref Doc 19/69

ニ戰スル不口ノ賊武タルハ何人モ首肯シ得ヘク矣
ニ北寧縣ヲ和戻スルニ於テハ打虎山寧天國反縛
于河北固ヘ僅カ三、四戸固内ニ到着シ得ヘキ近頃
様ニアルノ事實ハ該省成ノ書タ六ナルヲ示ハモノ
ナリ一方前記馬賊等ハ近時鶴州軍參謀將卒ノ或爲
セラレタルモノヲ合ミ其ノ居處ノ處様金基ニ塔大
シ層リ現ニ活餓本據西方ニ於ケル馬賊ハ十一月上
旬約一萬三千ト算定セラレタルカ十二月上旬ノ訊
查ニ依レハ三萬ヲ越過シ且其近ニ於テハ營百万余
兵千ノ員數ト該團統、追尋犯等ノ裝備ヲ有シ今ヤ
正哉軍トノ區別殆ント國難ナル狀態ニアリ猶々以
テ其ノ軍隊ニ之ヲ隨行シ之ヲ指揮スル錦州軍營ノ者ハ
ルコト無ナキヲ知ルヘシ又在寧天日云總督事務ノ
調查ニ依レハ該團統爲地頭侵地方馬賊出沒實
ハ十一月一日以降十日間二七八件、十一日以降十
日間三四一件、二十一日以降十日間四三八件、十
二月一日以降十日間四七二件、合計一五二九件ノ
參キニ上リ

卷上馬賊不逞分子ノ隊衆ニ論シ被征ニ於テ必要
ノ財貨ヲ行フヤ精餓本據西方ノ馬賊ヘ通事方達西方面ニ
逃入スルヲ信ドシ我軍ヲシテ殆ント壽命ニ盡ラシ
ムルモノアリ而モ尙我軍ニ於テ遼西地方ニ留スル
駿馬ノ遺跡ヲ擧テセサリシハ同地方各地ニ匿也ス

Sept Doc 1949

ル前記錦州軍械配下ノ支那正規兵トノ衝突ヲ逃ケ
ムトスル苦衷ニ由テタルモノナリ
ニ然ルニ猶々十一月二十四日頃外交部長ヨリ在支
主要列國公使ニ繰シ支那側ヘ日支兩軍ノ衝突ヲ逃
クル爲支那軍ノ山海關以西撤退ヲ實行スルノ用意
アル旨ヲ告ケタリ仍テ帝國政府ハ同月二十六日正式ニ
右主旨ノ趣諭ニ據スルヤ主義上之ヲ受諾ハルト共
ニ在支那國公使及在北平帝國代表者ニ繰シ夫々頃
外交部長及張學良氏トノ間ニ本旨ニ據シ體合ヲ行
ハムコトヲ訓令セリ同公使ハ十一月三十日乃至十
二月三日數次ニ亘り頃外交部長ト體合ヲ行ヒタル
カ同部長ハ中途ヨリ前記申出ヲ繰シテ右體合ニ處
セサルノ態度ヲ示シ又在北平帝國代表者ハ十二月
四日以來張學良氏ト直密又ハ其ノ側近者ヲ介シ體
合ヲ重ネタルカ同月七日ニ至り張學良氏ヨリ其ノ
自發的措置トシテ錦州方面支那軍ノ撤退ヲ行フヘ
キ旨ヲ顯示シ來リ且源不變長トナク右相算ノ急進
實行方ヲ確信セルモ何等敵兵ノ事實ナク却テ同方
面ノ兵備ヲ嚴ニシ居ル實情ナリ
四錦州地方敵兵回覆ニ據スル天津西岸セラレタル
以來既ニ經一ヶ月ニ及ヘルモ支那側ノ不誠意ナル
態度ニ依リ何等ノ效果ヲ見ケ得ヘキ前途ノ見据付
カサカル固ニ前記ノ如ク長圓ノ沿口卷、獨ヶツヲ經メ
來リ遂ニハ南滿洲ニ於ケル全境的治安ノ復興的謀

Auf Doc / 949

機ヲ搭架スルノ虞アル事態ヲ現出セルニ依リ最近
我軍ヘ一齊ニ出動シテ從不ヨリ比較的大規模ノ戰
闘討伐ニ着手スルノ已ハア得サルニ至シル邊我軍
ニ於テ既國討伐ノ後底ヲ期セムカ爲ニハ其ノ根柢
地タル遠西方面ニ進出セサルヲ得サルコト前述ノ
事情ニ後シ頃カナリ國ヨリ我軍ハ九月三十日及十
二月十日理事會決議ノ主旨ニ反シ好シテ支那正規
兵ニ動シ攻撃ヲ加フルカ如キ主動的態度ニ出テ居
ルモノニアラサルコト勿論ナルモ他面既成ノ狀
候ニ至リテハ清獻天下ノ暴躁張狂ニ頂き日本軍ニ
於テ引継キ之ヲ行ハサルヲ得サル所ニシテ右ハ十
二月十日理事會決議採擧ノ際我代表ニ於テ既往ニ
保證セル所ナリ然ルニ此際文部省大臣ニシテ委員非
攻撃的態度ヲ蒙ハントスルモ前記ノ如ク裏面ニ於
テ我軍反對后留民ヲ目標トスル巨賊操縱ノ謀略的
行為ニ出テ且右長城中ニ錦州軍ノ將卒參謀混入シ
テ正規軍トノ區別置ケル以上我軍ニ於テ自衛上
必要ト認ムル適當ノ措置ニ出ツル場合其ノ結果生
スルコトアルベキ一切ノ責任ハ前記諸君ノ組織ニ
屬ミ凡テ支那領ニ於テ負担スベキモノナリ
吾帝國政府ヘ此種現象不以係網其ノ惣合ニ係網及
今次事件ニ關スル理事會兩度ノ決議ヲ忠實ニ遵守
セムコトヲ期スルモノニシテ錦州軍憲ノ經營的治
安擺亂ニ致スル日本國民ノ侵凌者タシキモノナリ

Dec 1949

タルニ拘ラス一箇月ノ水キニ亘リ希國軍ニ於テ該
方面ニ猶スル戦闘計略ノ自由ヲ擲出シ其ノ國政府
ニ於テ凡ユル手段ヲ盡シ右前後實行ノ際迄起スル
コトアルベキ日支民軍ノ衝突ヲ以防ヘルニ努メタ
ル誠心誠意ト匪忍自重トハ全ク前記諸條件反決議
ニ法ク義務ニ忠實ナラムトスル精神ニ因テタルモ
ノナルコト必スヤ世界長國ノ體制ヲ有ヘキヲ信ス

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